



THE KEYNOTER



"Winning is better than losing." – Michael Dukakis

APIC Interview Michael Dukakis about the Election of 1988

JFK's PT 109 • Keeping Time with FDR • "Who's Vehudi?"



THE APIC KEYNOTER

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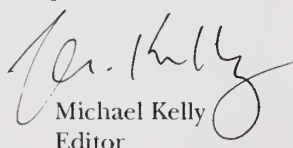
Editor's Message

This year, *The Keynoter* began a new policy on publication. For many years, we have published three 36-page issues a year (for a total of 108 pages). This year, we begin publishing four 28-page issues a year (a total of 112 pages). In addition, we are tightening our housekeeping down to page 2, leaving page 3 for features. I hope the APIC membership finds these changes to be worthwhile.

This issue features the Bush vs. Dukakis race of 1988 and includes an APIC interview with Michael Dukakis. One historical observation: Democrats don't treat their unsuccessful candidates as kindly as do Republicans. Perhaps it's the military tradition of honoring your casualties or maybe just nostalgia, but Republican conventions welcomed those like Goldwater, Ford and Dole even after they lost and still cheered them lustily. In contrast, the Democrats seem to turn their backs on McGovern, Mondale and Dukakis. Maybe too many Democrats had concrete career plans tied to the presidential campaigns and felt personally offended when the candidate lost. Our two parties have often switched positions on issues (at the end of the 19th century, for example, the Democrats were free-traders opposed to government spending while the GOP were protectionists advocating big government programs) but each party does seem to maintain a culture over the years. The exception that proves the rule may be the old Democratic obsession with William Jennings Bryan.

ERRATA

In the last issue, Bob Fratkin's article about the button from Eleanor Roosevelt's 1936 visit incorrectly identified the visit as having been to Indiana. It was to Illinois. Midwesterners should realize that Bob lives in Washington, DC and cannot be expected to keep such details in mind. It recalls the old joke about a girl from Iowa who married an aristocrat from Boston. At a formal engagement party that drew the finest of Boston society, a grand matron advised the young woman not to say "Iowa" when asked where she was born. "Out here," the lady told her, "We pronounce that Ohio."


Michael Kelly
Editor

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Covers: Front: An assortment of images from the 1988 campaign.
Back: 1932 issue of *Radio News*.



IN THE NEXT ISSUE

The Election of 1908 will be featured, plus part two of the FDR clocks and other stories.



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APIC seeks to encourage and support the study and preservation of original materials issuing from and relating to political campaigns of the United States of America and to bring its members fuller appreciation and deeper understanding of the candidates and issues that form our political heritage.

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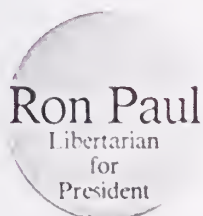
National Nominees For 1988



George Bush and Dan Quayle
Republican Party
48,886,097 (426 electoral votes)



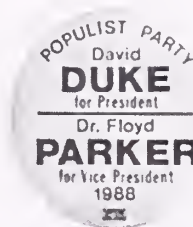
Michael Dukakis and Lloyd Bentsen
Democratic Party
41,809,074 (111 electoral votes *)



Ron Paul and Andre Marrou
Libertarian Party
432,179



Lenora B. Fulani and Joyce Dattner
New Alliance Party
217,219



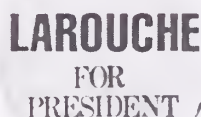
David E. Duke and Floyd Parker
Populist Party
47,047



Eugene McCarthy and Susan Gardner
Consumer Party
30,905



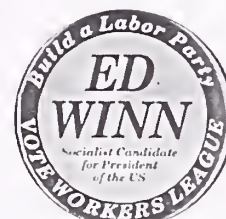
Warren Griffin and James S. Burnett
American Independent Party
27,818



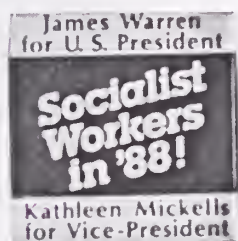
Lyndon LaRouche and Billy Davis
National Economic Party
25,562



William Marra and Joan Andrews
Right To Life Party
20,504



Ed Winn and Helen Betty Halyard
Workers League
18,693



James Mac Warren and Kathleen Mickells
Socialist Workers Party
15,604



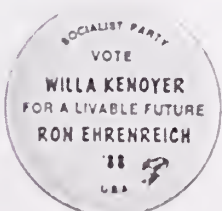
Herbert Lewin and Booth Dollarhyde
Peace & Freedom Party
10,370



Earl Dodge and Warren Martin
Prohibition/National Statesman Party
8,002



Larry Holmes and Gloria La Riva
Workers World Party
7,846



Willa Kenoyer and Ron Ehrenreich
Socialist Party
3,882

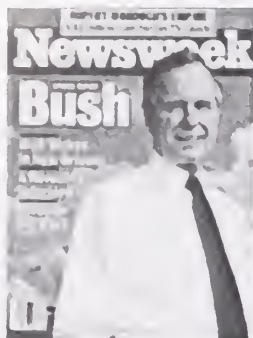


Delmar Dennis and Earl Jeppson
American Party
3,475

Jack Herer and Dana Beal
Grassroots Party
1,949

*(NOTE: One Democratic elector from West Virginia cast her vote for Bentsen)

Buttons pictured are of various sizes. They are shown in a uniform size for layout purposes.



The Campaign of 1988: Bush vs. Dukakis

by Michael Kelly



The overriding figure in the campaign of 1988 was not a candidate, it was the incumbent president, Ronald Reagan. President Reagan was the first president since Eisenhower to finish two full terms and the campaign would in many ways be a referendum on the Reagan years. A crowded field of Republican hopefuls jockeyed to be seen as his most worthy successor and the one most likely to carry on his work. On the Democratic side, more than a half dozen candidates based their campaigns on who could best save the nation from what they insisted were the disasters of the Reagan era.

President Reagan remained popular with the nation despite the wear and tear of eight years in office, including a variety of scandals ranging from the serious (Iran/contra) to the trivial (Ed Meese's cufflinks). The economy was strong and Democrats struggled to gain public credibility as critics of federal deficits. Despite high federal spending during Reagan's presidency, the public still saw the Democrats as tax-and-spenders. Reagan's high-risk foreign policy appeared successful as nearly a half-century of Cold War drew to a close.

Reagan's vice president, George Bush, wound up being the Republican nominee. Bush had to fight his way past a large, unruly Republican field that included Bob Dole, Jack Kemp, Pat Robertson, Pete DuPont and Al Haig. Robertson's church-based cadres gave the field a shock in the Iowa caucus with a second place finish that was more impressive than the first place win by farm-state neighbor Dole and pushed front runner Bush into third. But Robertson's strength couldn't hold up in the primaries and even Dole couldn't match Bush's national reach. In a matter of weeks it was all over except for some brave gestures. The Republican nomination was decided early.

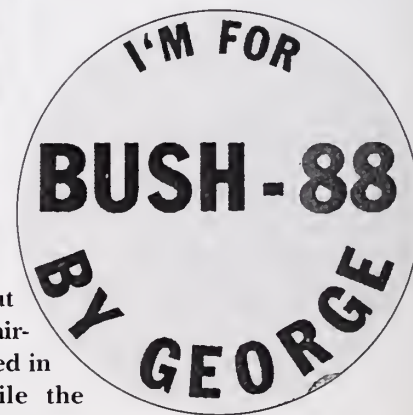
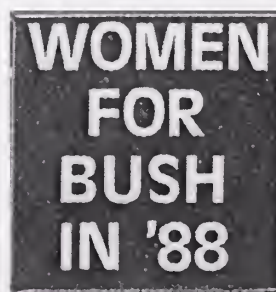
The Democratic race started without a front-runner. The

runner-up from 1984's contest with Walter Mondale, Gary Hart of Colorado, self-destructed early in a sex scandal that was to set a low tone for coming years. New York Governor Mario Cuomo, widely assumed to be the party's strongest hope, surprised almost everyone by announcing he wouldn't run. That left a huge vacancy in the party's powerful Northeastern wing, a vacancy quickly filled by the unexpected entry of Massachusetts Governor Michael Dukakis. Dukakis was not well known nationally but the same could be said for most of his rivals.

The field attracted six other hopeful Democrats. Preacher/activist Jesse Jackson was probably the best known but lacked the ability to move much beyond the party's African American core. Senators Al Gore of Tennessee, Joe Biden of Delaware, and Paul Simon of Illinois were joined by Congressman Dick Gephardt of Missouri and former Arizona Governor Bruce Babbitt in a field that pundits came to snidely label "the Seven Dwarfs."

Dukakis, aided by an early victory in neighboring New Hampshire, emerged as a calm, competent figure in a confusing contest. Primaries whittled the field down quickly. By Super Tuesday, only Dukakis, Jackson and Gore remained. Gore was eliminated when he lost New York to Dukakis. Jesse Jackson stubbornly survived, unexpectedly winning several primaries and caucuses, including Michigan, and arrived at the convention with the second largest number of delegates, after Dukakis.

Although national conventions may not be the deal-making hotbeds of years past, they proved to be crucial in the campaign of 1988. The Democratic National Convention cemented the squabbling Democrats into a cohesive force. Jesse Jackson's ruffled feathers were soothed and Michael Dukakis was introduced to his largest national audience as a man of



The 1988 campaign was, indeed, marked by issues. But the campaign issues that drew the most attention were fairly trivial. Democrats mocked Dan Quayle for having served in the National Guard instead of going to Vietnam while the Republicans expressed shock that Governor Dukakis didn't require students in his state to recite the Pledge of Allegiance at school.



Bush's choice of Dan Quayle as his running mate did not meet with universal approval.

The 1988 Republican National Convention in New Orleans proved to be the critical turning point in George Bush's road to the White House.




calm, confident competence. His choice of Texas Senator Lloyd Bentsen as a running mate summoned up memories of the Boston/Austin axis from 1960 and the Democrats even took up waving the American flag again (an image not overly common at Democratic gatherings since the days of the Vietnam War). As the happy convention closed, national polls showed Michael Dukakis with a 17-point lead over George Bush and on his way to the White House.

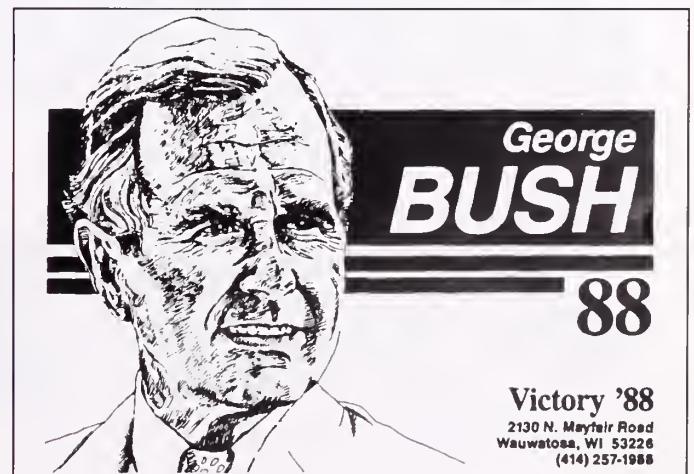
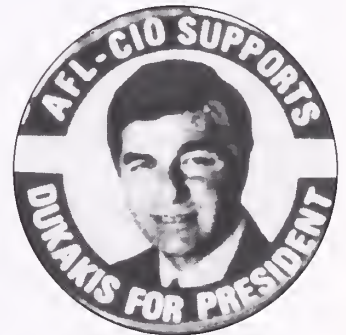
Likewise, the Republican National Convention would be a critical point in the campaign. It did not begin with a good omen. Bush's choice of Dan Quayle as his running mate turned sour almost instantly. Quayle, a U.S. senator from Indiana who had been generally well thought of before his selection, seemed unprepared to handle the pressure of the national press corp. It did not prove to be a happy choice and gave the convention a rocky start.

It is often conventional wisdom that such things as national conventions and speeches are hollow rituals and all but meaningless. Marxist historians would assure us that it is only vast, unconscious economic forces that create history. The campaign of 1988 would prove that wisdom false. When George Bush walked to the podium of the 1988 Republican National Convention to deliver his acceptance speech, he would turn the campaign around.

As familiar a figure as the vice president may have been (and a figure of fun in not a few circles), most Americans had never really focused on George Bush before. His old school New England manners were often taken to be weakness. His loyalty to Reagan was often taken as an absence of consistency. Armed with a speech skillfully honed by Peggy Noonan, George Bush set about to introduce himself to the American people.

He was graceful, self-effacing, occasionally funny and presented himself as a more subtle, sensitive, caring person

SCORECARD 88		
US PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION 1988		
 Michael Dukakis Democrat		
 George Bush Republican		
OPPOSES	Aid To Nicaraguan Freedom Fighters	SUPPORTS
OPPOSES	Pledge Not To Raise Taxes	SUPPORTS
OPPOSES	Death Penalty for Drug Dealers Who Commit Murder	SUPPORTS
OPPOSES	SDI (Defense Against Nuclear Attack)	SUPPORTS
OPPOSES	Parental Choice In Education (Vouchers)	SUPPORTS
OPPOSES	Balanced Budget Amendment	SUPPORTS
OPPOSES	Voluntary Prayer in Public Schools	SUPPORTS
SUPPORTS	Furloughs For Convicted Felons	OPPOSES
SUPPORTS	Abortion	OPPOSES
SUPPORTS	Homosexual Rights	OPPOSES



than most Americans expected. There were hard-edged slams against Dukakis and ideological red meat for the Republicans, but there was also a call for a "kinder, gentler America." With that one speech, George Bush may have won the White House.

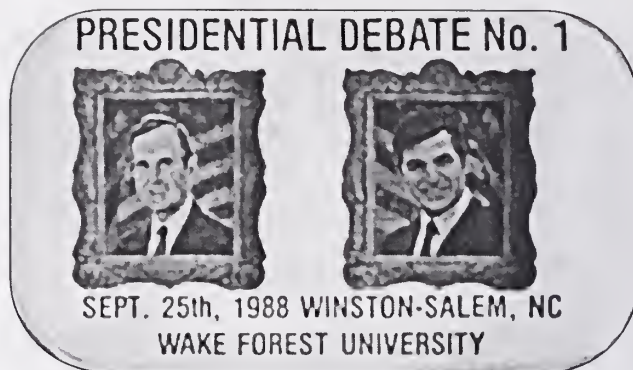
The campaign that followed was a hard one. The Republicans immediately launched attacks on the Democrats that pulled no punches and took no prisoners. According to the Bush camp, Dukakis pardoned murderers, polluted Boston Harbor and didn't want school kids to say the Pledge of Allegiance. Still assuming he was far ahead, the Dukakis campaign dismissed the attacks and played it safe.

The calmness that had made Dukakis look attractive in the unruly Democratic primaries began to look cold and impersonal in the general campaign. For all of George Bush's slips of the tongue and goofy mannerisms, he looked real and human. Mike Dukakis began to be seen as The Iceman. In the second debate, CNN's Bernard Shaw opened by asking Dukakis a provocative question about how he would react if his wife were raped. Observers considered it a softball question that would permit the Massachusetts governor a chance to show his warm side. It was the sort of question that allows a candidate to demonstrate passion for his family, to talk about violence, to discuss any number of things. Dukakis, however, responded with a calm lecture about capital punishment. He never even mentioned his wife's name.

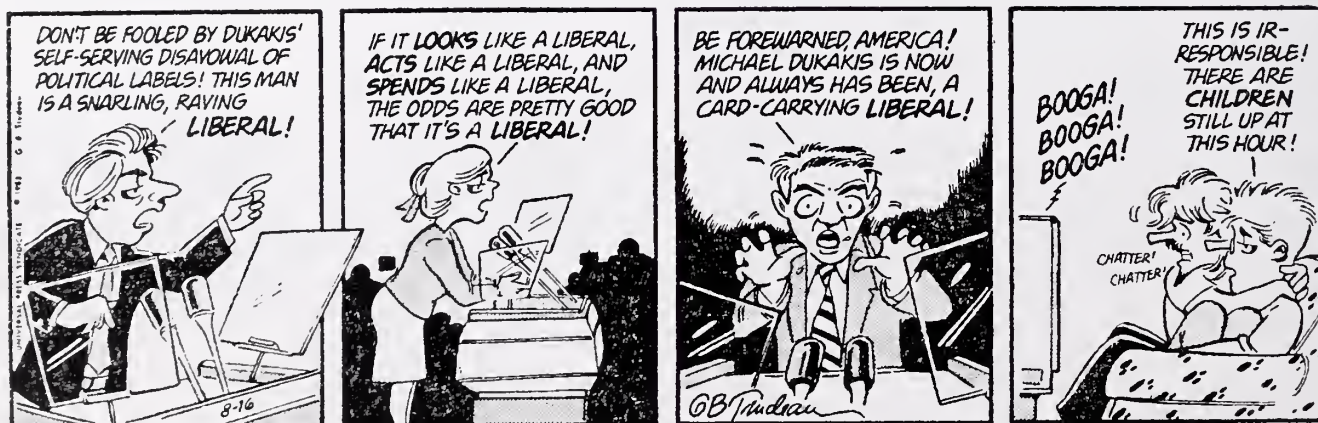
To some, he might have demonstrated admirable restraint. To the television audience, he confirmed his image as the heartless technocrat.

The second debate had been the last chance for Dukakis to halt the decline that had been underway since Bush's convention speech. The last three weeks of the campaign were a battle to turn back a tide that had already gone out. By the end, Dukakis was even able to express some passion but it was too late. Election Night was a blowout. George Bush won the popular vote 53% to 45%, the Electoral College 426 to 112, the state count 40 to 10. Adding insult to injury, even one of the Dukakis presidential electors proved unfaithful and cast her vote for Lloyd Bentsen instead.

The Reagan era had been confirmed. President George Bush would go on to be a successful war president during Desert Storm but to lose the White House in 1992 when he was caught between a recession and the Ross Perot revolt. The Clinton years would lie beyond.★



The presidential debates were important events in the campaign. Dukakis appeared stronger in the first debate but failed to stop Bush in the second.



The Republican National Convention allowed the Bush campaign to begin defining Michael Dukakis for a nation that did not know him well, much to the displeasure of cartoonist Gary Trudeau's "Doonesbury."

Michael Dukakis For President

(a Keynoter interview by Richard Rector)



Governor Michael Dukakis was born on November 3, 1933 in Brookline, Massachusetts, the same town where President Kennedy was born. Like JFK, he graduated from Harvard but the similarity ends there. Unlike Kennedy's life of wealth and privilege, Dukakis was the son of Greek immigrants and had to work his way up the ladder. In 1958, he was elected to the Brookline Town Council, advancing to the state House of Representatives in 1962. He was defeated as the Democratic candidate for Lt. Governor in 1970, but elected Governor in 1974. Gov. Dukakis was defeated for renomination by businessman Ed King in the 1978 Democratic primary. In 1982, Dukakis won revenge when he defeated Governor King and was then reelected in 1986.

He won a hard fought contest for the 1988 Democratic presidential nomination, finishing the Democratic convention with a big lead in the polls. After a tough campaign, Vice President George Bush pulled past Dukakis and won. Nonetheless, Dukakis had the best showing of any Democrat in the 1980's and got a larger percentage of the vote than Bill Clinton would in 1992.

Today he is the Chairman of the Board of Amtrak and a professor of political science at Northeastern University in Boston.

Keynoter: Did President Kennedy influence your entry into politics in 1962?

Dukakis: Well, Jack Kennedy was an enormously important influence in the lives of all of us who came of age politically in the late Fifties and early Sixties, and of course he was a Massachusetts guy. It was a time when Massachusetts politics was tough, one of the three or four most corrupt states in the country. I remember knocking on doors in my legislative district in 1962 and people looking at me and saying, "You look honest, I'll vote for you." Thank God I had parents who gave me an honest looking face. (Chuckle) I ran for the Representative Town Meeting in the town of Brookline. You can't start much lower on the totem pole than that. I won and became Chairman of the Democratic organization in 1960. So I was already into this pretty heavily.

Keynoter: What was your 1970 campaign for Lt. Governor like?

Dukakis: Kevin White, Mayor of Boston, and I were the Democratic ticket and I'd like to think that we were a good ticket. On the other hand, Frank Sargent had just become Governor because he moved up from Lt. Governor when John Volpe went to Washington as Nixon's Secretary of Transportation. I think there were a lot of people who said, "Well, he's only just got there, he's only been there two years. Why replace him?" So we were beaten very decisively. But the fact that I was the party's nominee for Lt. Governor in 1970 set the stage for the gubernatorial race in '74.

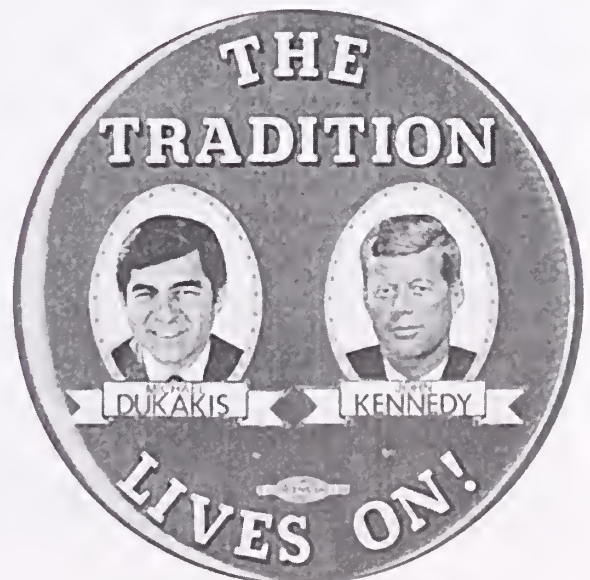
Keynoter: Tell us about your first election as Governor in 1974.

Dukakis: Well, it was the last of the guerrilla campaigns. If you can believe this, I spent a total of \$25,000 on paid media in the primary to beat an incumbent Attorney General and I didn't spend a heck of a lot more to win in November. The state was beginning to slide into a very serious recession and unfortunately it brought with it huge economic and financial problems which I inherited in 1975. But I was able to win both of those races and to do so with not a great deal of money, but with thousands and thousands of volunteers who were working at the grassroots for me. That's always been the way I've run campaigns and won them, with very committed volunteers, lots of them out in the streets banging on doors. I think

both major political parties are making a great mistake these days in walking away from grassroots organizations, particularly my party. We are not going to outspend the other guys; we can certainly outwork them. I'm not talking about a last minute, three-week get out the vote campaign, which we do very well. I'm talking about a party organization in the precincts that's there all the time, every day. If we had that, the other side couldn't touch us.

Keynoter: What happened when you lost your re-election bid in 1978?

Dukakis: Well, a lot of things happened. First, I told people that I wasn't going to raise their taxes and I had to because the state deficit was five times what we thought it was when I was elected. But that was my fault. Second, I had to make a lot of tough decisions, some of which weren't very popular. I think I was a little too cocky for my own good. Although it was a very painful loss, I came back in '82 and won. I was a much better governor the second time around. Losing can be therapeutic but I don't recommend it as a steady diet.



A Democrat from Massachusetts, it was only natural for Dukakis to associate himself with the glory days of JFK.



Above: buttons from Dukakis gubernatorial races. Right: Mike Dukakis with Richard Rector.



Keynoter: Why did you seek the Democratic Presidential nomination in 1988?

Dukakis: First, I'd like to think it was because people saw in me somebody who was very different from Ronald Reagan. Second, because I had a remarkable group of very, very dedicated volunteers across the country. We had about 400,000 individual contributors, which gives you some sense of just how broad it was. We did a terrific job in the primary. Unfortunately I ran a lousy final campaign and it's nobody's fault but my own.

Keynoter: There was a controversy early in the campaign when it was revealed that your campaign manager John Sasso had produced the Joe Biden/Neil Kinnock tape that drove Senator Biden from the race. What is your perspective on that?

Dukakis: Well, it was a serious mistake in judgment. I'm somebody that's got enormous respect for John Sasso and think the world of him. But I was determined to try and run a positive campaign and that simply wasn't the kind of thing that I wanted my campaign to be involved in. It's too bad because as a result I lost John as campaign manager and that was an enormous loss, no question about it. Paradoxically as it turned out

Joe was apparently walking around with a serious cerebral problem unbeknownst to him and as he said to me later on if he had stayed in the race he might not be alive today. So fate works in strange and wondrous ways but who would have thought it at the time?

Keynoter: How do you feel about your performance in all of the nationally televised Democratic candidates debates that year?

Dukakis: We had 45 primary debates; I made 39 of them. We were so used to debating each other that by the last one I think we all had memorized everybody else's lines. It gives you an opportunity to get out there and give people a sense of who you are. The primary is a long, long race and you are going to be out there in public debating, discussing, speaking thousands of times. So I don't know that any of those primary debates were particularly decisive. But it was a good process and I certainly developed an enormous amount of respect for the folks that I was running against.

Keynoter: After the New York primary, Al Gore dropped out leaving just Jesse Jackson and you. Most campaign books claim that you had a bad relationship with Jesse Jackson. Is that an accurate picture?



The 1988 campaign drew a large field of Democratic hopefuls, none of whom seemed a major national figure. Cynics in the media dubbed them "The Seven Dwarfs" but Dukakis emerged from the pack in the primaries. (L to R) Congressman Dick Gephardt, Gov. Mike Dukakis, Sen. Joe Biden, Sen. Al Gore, Rev. Jesse Jackson, Sen. Paul Simon and Gov. Bruce Babbitt.



Jesse Jackson ran a strong campaign in 1988, running ahead of Gephardt, Biden, Gore, Simon and Babbitt and winning more delegates than anyone except Dukakis but was never seriously considered as his running mate. The Democrats knew they had over 90% of the black vote with or without Jackson on the ticket.

Dukakis: Oh, I think we had a pretty good relationship. I mean Jesse is his own guy, he's unique and he's Jesse. If he agrees with you he'll tell you and if he disagrees with you he'll tell you and I'm kind of the same type of guy. So we had our agreements and our disagreements. But I think on the whole it was a good relationship. I never listened to Jesse Jackson without learning something during that campaign. He's not only got great eloquence, but he has a remarkable ability to come up with insights about what's going on that many of us don't.

Keynoter: Can you tell us about choosing Lloyd Bentsen as your running mate?

Dukakis: Certainly one of the best things I did during the campaign. Not only because Lloyd was a terrific running mate but because of the way we did it. I'd like to think that we kind of laid out a model for how you select a running mate. My only regret is that I didn't involve Lloyd more actively in developing campaign strategy. Remember he had run and beaten Bush decisively for the senate in Texas and he knew him. Unfortunately, the two of us were so busy running around the country we didn't spend enough time thinking about the campaign strategy.

Keynoter: We have all seen convention coverage on television and some of our readers have seen it from the convention floor but what is it like on the other side of the podium accepting the nomination of your Party?

Dukakis: Certainly one of the great moments in my life. We had an extremely successful primary; we were coming out of that convention with a very unified party that was raring to go. It was probably one of the best speeches I ever made. It was a very emotional moment for me. Here is a kid whose parents came over on the boat and he's his party's nominee for the Presidency of the United States. You know, only in America. So, it was emotional; it was important. I was surrounded by people, many of whom had worked their heads off for me, including my own state delegation. They were right across from the podium. I could see them; these were people who had been part of my life for years and years. It was a very special moment for Kitty and for me.

Keynoter: You were the first Greek-American nominated for President by a major political party. [The first Greek-American vice presidential candidate was Republican Spiro

Agnew in 1968]. What was the response from the Greek-American community?

Dukakis: Terrific, absolutely terrific. The Greek people are very proud of our ethnicity (as anyone knows, who knows a Greek). But I cannot say enough for the Greek-American community. They just responded, supported, worked, contributed, pushed, recruited. It's incredible, and that was true whether you were in Chicago, with a huge Greek community of hundreds of thousands, or a little town in Iowa where there was one pizza place and it was the only Greek family in town. They were just remarkable.

Keynoter: Can you give us your reflections on your debates with George Bush?

Dukakis: I thought I did pretty well in the first one. I didn't do as well in the second one obviously. I think we should have been tougher when it came to setting the terms for those debates. We spent much too much time debating details with the Bush campaign and we ultimately did not do what the commission had recommended. If I had to do it over again I would simply have said to Jim Baker, "Look, I'm going to be there and if your guy's there, fine. If he is not, I'll debate an empty chair." That was the advice I gave Clinton and his people and as you recall they did that in '92 and basically forced Bush and Baker to stop fooling around and to get serious about a series of three debates. But there isn't any single reason why you win or lose a campaign. I think what happened in '88 is that I made a basic judgment that I was not going to





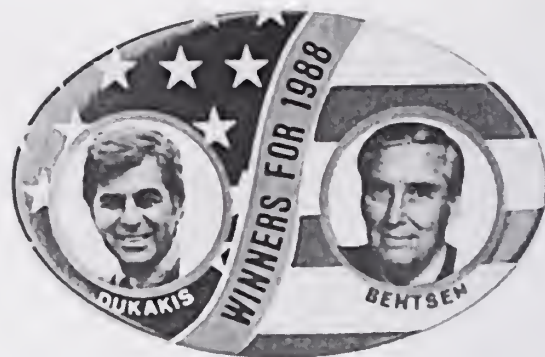
respond to the Bush attack campaign. In retrospect that was a fatal mistake. You've got to have a strategy for dealing with it and I didn't.

Keynoter: How did you feel about Senator Bentsen's performance in his debate with Senator Quayle?

Dukakis: He was terrific. Poor Quayle looked so nervous and unsure of himself that it was no contest. I thought it was a pretty good example of the difference between Bush and me when it came to picking people for important positions. Picking your running mate is the first really presidential decision you make in a campaign.

Keynoter: You were criticized for your handling of attacks from the Bush campaign. What is your response to that?

Dukakis: The criticism is absolutely sound. If there is one lesson to be learned from the 1988 campaign it is that whether you like it or not you have got to be ready for the kind of attack campaign that Bush ran and you have got to have a



strategy for dealing with it. I had run a very positive campaign in the primary. I wanted to keep it that way. I thought people were tired of the kind of polarization that we had had under Reagan. It's pretty obvious that all of that is interesting and noble, but if you want to be President of the United States you can't let the other guy pick you apart. Bill Clinton did not make that mistake in '92.

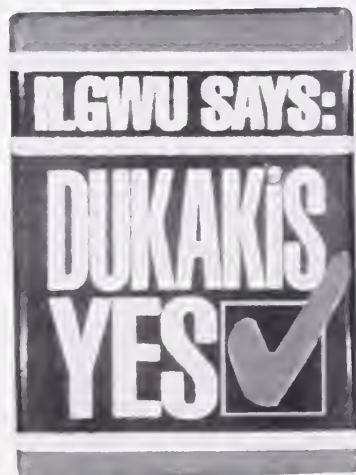
Keynoter: The image of you riding in a tank turned out to be an unfortunate one. There is an almost identical film of George Bush driving a tank. Did you consider using that in your own ads?

Dukakis: No, I didn't. We also had TV clips of George Bush reciting the Pledge of Allegiance inaccurately. Now, do you use that or don't you? I don't know. I haven't spent a lot of my life since 1988 trying to rerun the campaign.

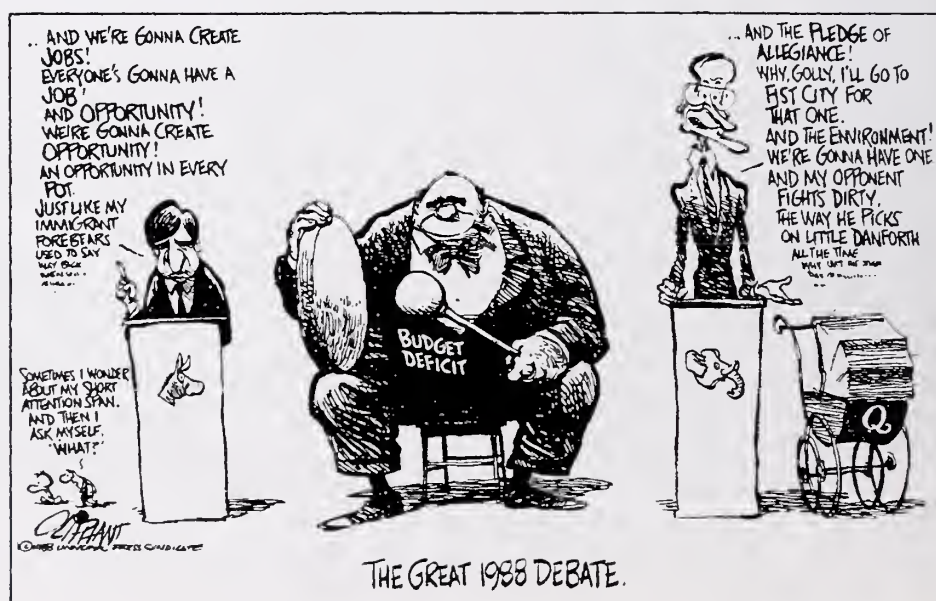
Keynoter: In the last days of the campaign you campaigned non-stop for 53 hours. Any memories of that you can share?

Dukakis: Well, when you have been campaigning for nearly two years and you are in the last lap of the campaign, I'm a great believer in letting fly. You can do your sleeping afterwards. Al Gore and Joe Lieberman did the same thing to good effect. Bush was criticized for taking too much time off in that last couple of weeks. That's the home stretch. You know I'm an old cross-country runner and you don't sit back with the tape in sight, you go for it. We went for it.

Keynoter: What was it like on election night, November 8, 1988?




The debates were a significant factor in 1988. Dukakis showed well in the first debate but not as well in the second. As usual, the media didn't like either candidate.

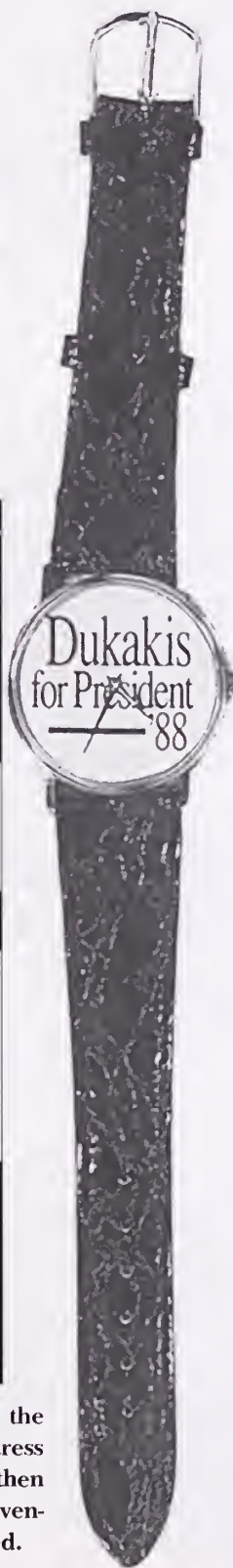


Dukakis: Well, it wasn't pleasant. You hate to lose. Part of the problem was that I came very close in a dozen states. I mean one point, two points, three points and, had we been able to flip those states. I'd have become the President of the United States. The early exit polls indicated that we might win a number of those states. So, I was still doing television feeds at four and five and six in the afternoon on Election Day to some of those states. I never really had time to think about it but I knew that we were in trouble and I knew that we had not run




Your Vote for
Mike Dukakis
 for President
will send Essex County's own
Academy Award Winner
Olympia
Dukakis
to the Democratic National Convention
VOTE TUESDAY
JUNE 7
Unaffiliated Voters May Participate
Paid for and authorized by Dukakis for President Comm. ©

The year began with a good omen for the Dukakis clan. The governor's cousin, actress Olympia Dukakis, won an Oscar in 1988 and then won a spot as a delegate to the national convention. The doorhanger above is shown reduced.



a good campaign, sadly. So, I wasn't surprised at the end, but winning is better than losing.

Keynoter: The campaign book *All By Myself* claimed that your biggest mistake was trying to micromanage the campaign. Is that an unfair criticism?

Dukakis: You can't possibly micromanage a campaign but I'm one of these guys who would never permit one's campaign to run a commercial without my watching it. It seems to me at that level you have got to exercise some pretty substantial oversight over your own campaign. But most of the time I was out there doing the very best I could. Maybe I should have micromanaged it a little more. [Chuckle]

Keynoter: What do you think about the claim Sidney Blumenthal made in his book *Pledging Allegiance* that the main importance of the 1988 election is that it was the last Presidential election of the Cold War?

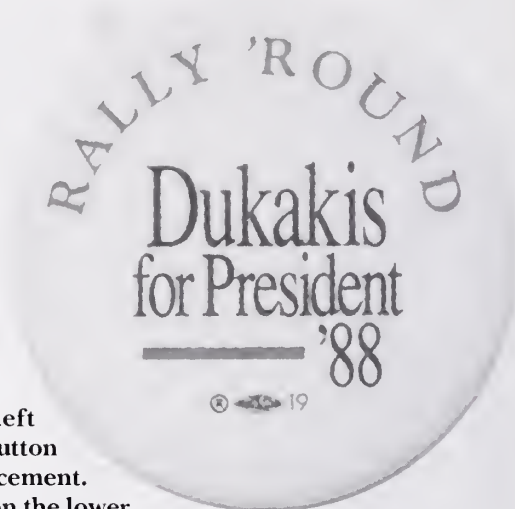
Dukakis: I think there's something to that. Democrats have always tended to suffer from these constant attacks by Republicans that we are "soft on defense" and "soft on national security." I remember the Bush people criticizing me for being a "multilateralist" whatever that means; it sounds almost pornographic. But I'm a guy that believes very strongly that the U.S. is most effective always when we are working closely with our allies within the international community. When we go it alone, we get into trouble. I thought it was interesting that after Bush was elected he suggested that it was time for a "New World Order," which sounded rather "multilateralist" to me. But there's no question that the end of the Cold War has fundamentally changed a lot of domestic politics in this country, and I think it's precisely because the fear of Communism thing, the accusation that Democrats were "soft on Communism." That kind of stuff no longer really connects and I suppose '88 was the last year when that kind of argument could be made effectively.

Keynoter: My friends and I have always debated this question would President Dukakis have entered the Gulf War? I have always thought that since Senator Kennedy, Tip O'Neill and most of the other Massachusetts Democrats favored sanctions over war, that would have been your position also. Am I right?

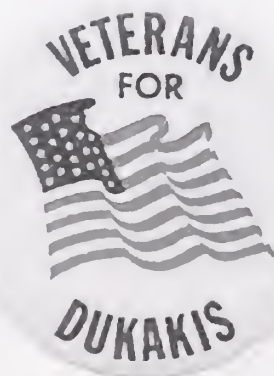
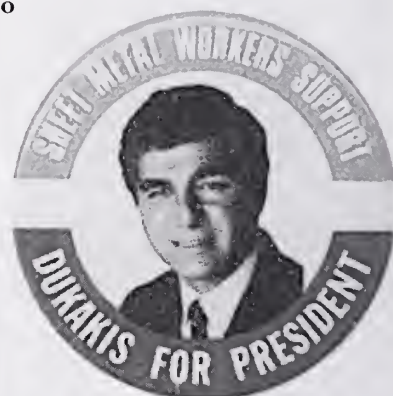
Dukakis: No, I was impressed with Admiral Crowe's position on this issue, which was more than just economic sanctions and less than full-fledged intervention. Crowe basically said to use economic sanctions, but enforce them militarily. So, that's where I would have been on that issue, and I think it was the right place to be.

Keynoter: During 1992, political writers described presidential hopeful Paul Tsongas as "Another Greek from Massachusetts." What was your reaction to that?

Dukakis: Well, he's certainly another Greek from Massachusetts, another proud Greek from Massachusetts. Paul and I obviously agreed on a lot of things but he had a different approach and he was a different guy and a very impressive guy. A guy who started out as a City Councilor in Lowell and just got better and better and stronger and stronger. He was a remarkable human being as well as a public servant. We really miss him. He was a rare guy, but a different guy from Mike Dukakis. But we are both the kids of immigrants and very proud of it and very proud of our heritage.★



The two "Duke" buttons on the upper left were from the Iowa caucus. The "Rally" button on the upper right is from Dukakis' announcement. There is a story that the "Veterans" button on the lower left is from the national convention and refers to long-time Dukakis staff members rather than citizens who served in the military.



Selected Dukakis Locals From Massachusetts



WHITE
+
DUKAKIS
=
leadership



MIKE DUKAKIS

for LT. GOVERNOR

- Endorsed by the Democratic State Convention
- Fighter for Low Cost Auto Insurance
- Veteran ● Experienced Legislator



Divided Loyalties: Bob Graham and Bill Grant

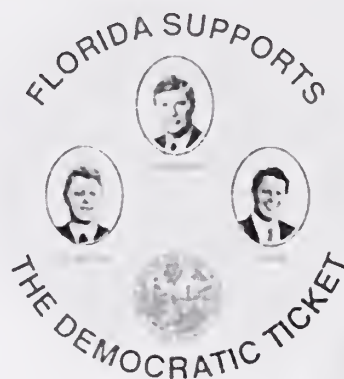
by Richard Rector



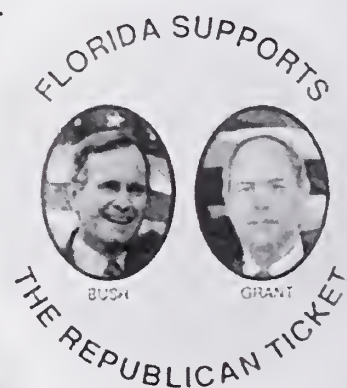
With Florida's growing population and its subsequent increase in Electoral College votes, it becomes more likely every year that a Floridian will be on a national ticket. When state senator Bob Graham was elected Governor in 1978, his popularity made him the subject of much presidential or vice presidential talk. The fact that he is the nephew of the late *Washington Post* publisher Katharine Graham certainly helped in that regard. Bob Graham served two terms as Governor and is in his third term as US Senator.

Talk of a Bob Graham vice presidential candidacy has occurred in 1984, 1988, 1992 and 2000. But the year that he got the most attention was 1988. It was felt that Governor Michael Dukakis a northern liberal Governor, would need to balance his ticket with a southern moderate U.S. Senator – and Bob Graham fit that description. Conservative Democratic congressman Bill Grant, who represented Florida's 2nd District (Tallahassee and most of the panhandle), organized a Bob Graham for Vice President Committee, which issued a button. The Florida Democratic Party followed suit issuing their own button. Dukakis did pick a southern moderate U.S. Senator but it was Lloyd Bentsen not Bob Graham.

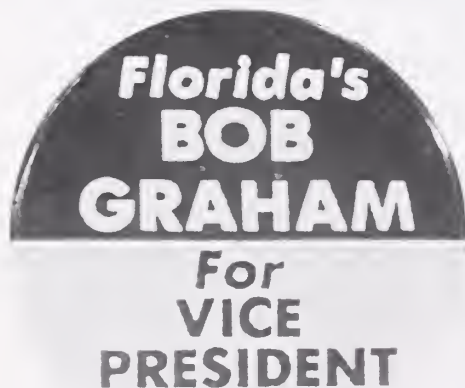
That was not the end of the story. In 1989 Bill Grant joined the GOP. He was defeated for reelection in 1990 by Democrat Pete Peterson, a former POW from the Vietnam War. Peterson served 3 terms in Congress and then went on to serve as US Ambassador to Vietnam. But that's still not the end of the story. When Bob Graham faced reelection to the US Senate in 1992, his Republican opponent was none other than Bill Grant. ★



**BOB
GRAHAM
FOR
GOVERNOR**



Politics is funny. Democratic Congressman Bill Grant boosted Democratic Senator Bob Graham for VP in 1988. Grant later switched to the GOP and ran for the Senate against Graham in 1992.



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The House of Representatives
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PROFILES IN DEED

The APIC Hall of Fame: Monroe D. Ray APIC #3

by Albert Salter

There is a prime mover of every group, and the birth and organization of what would become the American Political Items Collectors, were the result of the vision of one man more than any other person. That was Monroe Ray. Monroe D. Ray of Belmont, New York was born May 7, 1887, during the first term of fellow-New Yorker Grover Cleveland. When Ray died February 24, 1974 at the time of the Watergate scandal, he had lived through sixteen presidencies.

Ray, who was known to have an outstanding collection of gubernatorial and senatorial pins cataloged by state and year, started collecting as early as 1921, and was active in setting up portable displays to show political memorabilia as early as the 1930s. It was Ray who wrote a 1945 letter to other collectors known to him and John Barkley of Cleveland, Ohio, urging the formation of a national organization of those interested in political memorabilia.

The response to his letter was positive and the founding members of the National Political Items Collectors (soon to be known as the American Political Items Collectors) named Ray Secretary-Treasurer of the new group. Barkley had tried to get Ray to assume the presidency but, when he demurred, Joe Fuld was named to the office.

By this time Ray was a veteran master of the traveling political items display. He had exhibited in New York City, Buffalo, Newark and other eastern cities. His exhibits featured panels that were 50 feet long free-standing units, as well as large banners and other wall displays. In July 1949, part of his collection of over 20,000 items, including 40 frames of buttons and badges as well as wall displays, was featured in the National Hobby Exhibition in Toronto's Exhibit Park Coliseum. Ray's display was runner-up as Best of Show. In a 1952 reference to Ray's display at the Rochester, New York Savings Bank, the *Rochester Democrat and Chronicle* claimed that the 25,000 items shown, including buttons, badges, autographs, ash trays, hats, canes, umbrellas, banners, broadsides, and more, constituted the largest collection of political memorabilia in the country.

As an added attraction, Ray distributed campaign buttons for both parties as well as get-out-the-vote pins. He demonstrated from the start his commitment to APIC principles. In 1958, Ray and his wife moved to Montour Falls, Allegheny County, New York where Ray was custodian of the county office buildings. He created the Museum of Political Americana, chartered by The University of the State of New York. It was a gymnasium-sized room decorated with a myriad of posters, banners and display cases, featuring the Ray collection of what was by then over 50,000 pieces. But in November of 1959 the museum was discontinued and Ray again took to the road with his portable displays across the state of New York. Then ill health caught up with him and his enjoyment of the hobby he had done so much to create eventually diminished.

When APIC was subsequently re-organized in 1960, Monroe Ray was named Secretary-Treasurer Emeritus in recognition of his incalculable contributions to the organization he helped found. In May of 1973, less than a year before he died, Ray moved back to Belmont, to be close to one of his three daughters. He suffered a stroke that July, a second one the following January, and passed away a month later.

As a young man, APIC member Robert Lowe (a past president of the old New York and Pennsylvania APIC Chapter) knew Ray. He considered him the best source for new members on matters of condition and cost, and invaluable in getting the NYPA chapter started. On May 11, 1974, shortly after Ray's death at age 86, NYPA officially changed its name to the Monroe D. Ray Chapter, and in 1993 the George R. Lunn Chapter of Albany merged with the Ray chapter, providing service to all New York State except the New York City region. The chapter continues as a fitting tribute to the man most responsible for establishing our organization.★

Please let me hear from you if you have any information on APIC Hall of Fame inductees you feel should be included in "Profiles in Deed." Email: jasalter@intrepid.net, or find my mailing address in the APIC directory.

For further information see

- Brown, Joseph "John W. Barkley, APIC #2," The Keynoter, Winter, 1986
- Harris, U.I. Chick, "Monroe D. Ray, APIC #3," The Keynoter, Spring, 1969
- Monroe D. Ray Chapter History, Monroe D. Ray Chapter, undated summary
- The Rochester Democrat and Chronicle, New York, August 10, 1952
- Sullivan, Ed "American Political Items Collectors - The First Fifty," The Keynoter, Summer, 1995
- Wellsville Daily Reporter, New York, June 9, 1949 (as reported in undated APIC flyer)

Also see

- Copy of undated, unidentified newspaper obituary in APIC archives
- Copy of letter to U.I. Harris from S. Bruce Ray, dated March 1, 1974 in APIC archives
- Letter to author from Robert O. Lowe, dated 11/30/2001, in APIC archives



Monroe Ray in 1972

FIRST STEPS: The Early Memorabilia of National Party Nominees

Andrew Johnson

A tailor not cut-out to lead the nation

by Albert Salter

Andrew Johnson's tenacity and persistence have always fascinated me. The early political history of this self-educated tailor from Greenville, Tennessee started with his selection as an town Alderman in 1828. Early biographers incorrectly reported Johnson's election as Mayor of the town as taking place in 1830 (rather than the actual date of 1834), as pointed out by Hans Trefousse in his 1989 biography of Johnson. What pleases me is that I have in my collection of early memorabilia of those nominated for vice president and president, the pair of brassed tailor shears presented to Johnson by aldermen William Carter and Alexander Brown when Johnson was named Mayor. The inscription contains the date and the words "To Mayor Andrew Johnson, Greenville."

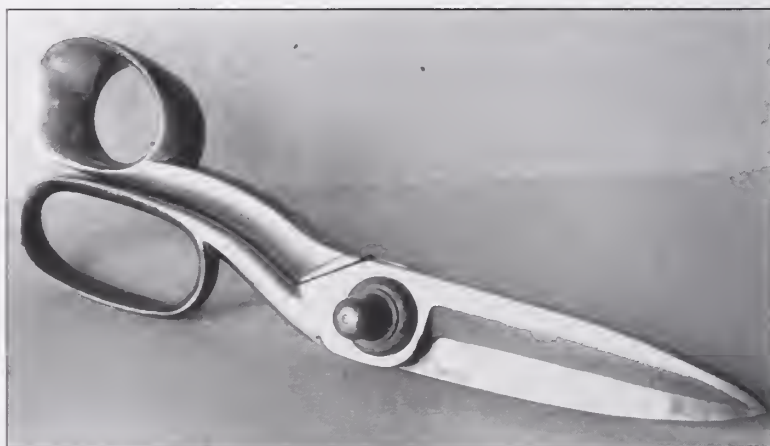
Johnson went on to serve in the state legislature, state senate, U.S. House of Representatives, and as governor and then as military governor. After his presidency, he was elected U.S. Senator, the only ex-president to do so. A Democrat, named on the Union Ticket as Lincoln's running mate in 1864, he acceded to the presidency on Lincoln's death.

A man known for his stubbornness and lack of political tact, he made more enemies as president than friends, losing support of southern Democrats, and unable to win the trust of Republicans. His impeachment proceedings were led by Thaddeus Stevens and the Radical Republicans.

With the brassed shears, my collection also holds a *carte de visite* of Johnson as Governor, and a 19th century photo of the Johnson tailor shop, now moved to the Johnson museum in Greenville.★



As I am presently doing research on the subject of early memorabilia of national nominees, I'd appreciate knowing of such artifacts in your collection. If you can send me a Xerox copy of any such piece for any nominee with as much information on the item as possible, I will see that you receive appropriate credit if the piece is shown in this series. My address is in your APIC Directory.



Before he entered politics, Andrew Johnson was a tailor. When chosen Mayor of Greenville, Tennessee, two city aldermen presented him with the brassed tailor shears above inscribed "To Mayor Andrew Johnson, Greenville." Johnson went on to become U.S. Senator, Governor, Vice President and President.

1912: Simeon E. Baldwin for President

by Michael Kelly



Pictured here is a rare example of an obscure presidential hopeful, Gov. Simeon E. Baldwin of Connecticut. Baldwin was a distinguished jurist, scholar and teacher, who was both a successful lawyer and a professor at Yale Law School. A genuine scholar, Baldwin held leadership positions in numerous professional organizations. He served as President of the American Social Science Association, the International Law Association, the American Historical Association, the Political Science

Association, the American Society for the Judicial Settlement of International Disputes and the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences. Baldwin was chief justice of the Connecticut Supreme Court when a split in Republican ranks in 1910 allowed him to defeat Republican Charles A. Goodwin for governor. When up for re-election in 1912, any attempt at Connecticut Republican unity was shattered by the Roosevelt-Taft warfare at the presidential level and Democrat Gov. Baldwin easily won a second term.

Connecticut Democrats were proud of their governor and put him forward for president at the 1912 Democratic Convention. Baldwin had support beyond his home state's 14 delegates, as he won 22 votes for president on the first ballot of the convention that finally nominated Woodrow Wilson after a long and heated battle. Wilson also benefited from Republican disunity and won the White House in November. Who knows? Somewhere out there may be a Wilson/Baldwin coattail item waiting to be discovered.★



19th Century photo of the Andrew Johnson Tailor Shop.

Jews in American Politics

(an APIC book review by Michael Kelly)

Jews in American Politics, edited by L. Sandy Maisel and Ira N. Forman. Introduction by Sen. Joseph Lieberman. ISBN 0-7425-0181-1. 518 pages with 150 photographs. Published by Rowan & Littlefield.

"Reading *Jews in American Politics* is like finding a missing puzzle piece. Never before has there been such a detailed account of the Jewish political experience..."

- Sen. Barbara Boxer

"The Jews have 'drei velt: di velt, yene velt un Roosevelt.' (Three worlds: this world, the other world and Roosevelt)."

- Judge Jonah Goldstein

To say there has been an ethnic aspect to American politics is to state the obvious. From the first Irish political machines in New York and Boston to the newest campaigns appealing to Albanian and Haitian immigrants, the politics of this nation has been filled by voices speaking in diverse accents. Religions have been political forces since the days when the religious dissenters founded Massachusetts, Quakers founded Pennsylvania and Catholics founded Maryland. But Jews have been unusual in their politics, usually eschewing the conservatism their education and earnings would normally indicate. As Milton Himmelfarb once said, "Jews earn like Episcopalians and vote like Puerto Ricans."

Ira Forman (APIC # 4959) had the initial inspiration for *Jews in American Politics* when he read newspaper accounts in 1988 stating that Bella Abzug had been the first Jewish woman elected to the U.S. House of Representatives. Forman recalled that Florence Prag Kahn had entered the House in 1925. Seeing a gap in the



literature of American political history, Forman recruited Professor Sandy Maisel and a blue ribbon advisory committee to assemble this book. The result is a valuable and interesting resource for historians and collectors.

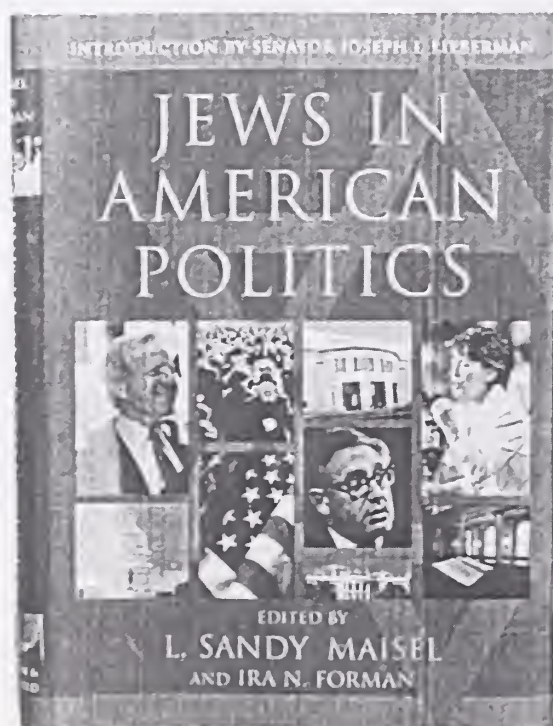
With an introduction by 2000 vice presidential nominee Joseph Lieberman, *Jews in American Politics* presents a series of essays about Jewish Americans in a variety of political roles (elected and appointed officials, judges, party leaders, radicals, conservatives, etc.) followed by biographical profiles, rosters of Jewish office holders in diverse posts (from cabinet members and ambassadors to mayors and state officers) and analyses of selected elections.

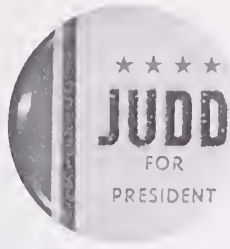
Whether or not one has a specific interest in Jewish American life, this is a fascinating book. The essays combine a high level of scholarly discourse with a depth of information and perspective. The biographical sketches (many of which are illustrated with campaign items) provide wonderful detail on all those mayors, governors, congressmen and senators whose names adorn those local and coattail items found in most of our collections.

That being said, these sketches still tantalize us with a desire for more detail. A good example is the story of Lewis Charles Levin, the first Jewish Member of Congress. Levin was elected to Congress from Pennsylvania in 1844 as a candidate of the nativist American Party. In fact, Levin is described as one of the founders of the Native American Party. How the American Party, a movement that didn't want Catholics or immigrants to be able to vote or hold office, came to elect the first Jew to Congress is a story that needs more telling.

But any good work of history whets your appetite to learn more and that is surely the case with *Jews in American Politics*.

Fortunately, this book is filled with enough information and interesting questions to keep one occupied for a long time. For someone interested in Jewish politics, it is a treasure trove. For the political generalist, it is still a valuable resource. ★





Rally the Protestant Vote: Nixon, Judd and Billy Graham

by D. Jason Berggren

The Reverend Billy Graham, America's greatest evangelist of the twentieth century, believed that a Nixon win in 1960 was critical for the country. Billy Graham feared that a Kennedy win would create a Catholic triumvirate in Washington: Kennedy as President, John McCormack as Speaker of the House, and Mike Mansfield as Senate Majority Leader.

On June 21, 1960, Graham wrote Vice President Richard Nixon to tell him to forget about trying to make inroads into the Catholic vote. "If Senator Kennedy is nominated, he will capture the Catholic vote—almost one hundred percent. No matter what concessions you make to the Catholic Church or how you play up to them—even if you had a Catholic running mate – you would not even crack five or ten percent of the Catholic vote."¹ Instead, Graham strongly urged Nixon to rally Protestant America.

To accomplish this, Graham recommended that Nixon "attend church regularly and faithfully from now on"² and pick a Protestant running mate with solid religious credentials. "It is imperative for you to have as your running mate someone in the Protestant church, someone the Protestant church can rally behind enthusiastically..."³ Graham's choice was nine-term Minnesota Congressman Dr. Walter Judd. Graham wrote, "...with Dr. Judd, I believe the two of you could present a picture to America that would put much of the South and border states in the Republican column and bring about a dedicated Protestant vote to counteract the Catholic vote."⁴

For Graham, Judd was the perfect Protestant running mate in 1960. Judd was a former evangelical missionary and he would balance the Republican ticket with strong Protestant religiosity. Graham and other Protestant clergyman felt that a Protestant-Protestant ticket in 1960 was needed, borrowing a later Nixon campaign slogan, "now more than ever."

Some within the Republican Party, such as Rhode Island Governor Christopher Del Sesto, lobbied for a Catholic running

mate to offset Kennedy's Catholicism. Labor Secretary James P. Mitchell was among those seriously mentioned.⁵ But it was not to be. Nixon thought that the only way to beat Kennedy was to focus on foreign policy. "If you ever let them [the Democrats] campaign only on domestic issues, they beat us—our only hope is to keep it on foreign policy."⁶ As a result, he wanted a candidate that had solid foreign policy experience. Nixon chose UN Ambassador and former U.S. Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr.

By selecting Lodge, Nixon had in effect distanced himself from those who were anxious about a Catholic in the White House. Lodge was not a religious exclusionist; he was a pluralist. He believed that Kennedy's Catholic faith, or anyone else's for that matter, should not be an issue or preclude anyone from public service. Lodge stated, "I absolutely refuse to admit my three Roman Catholic grandsons will be debarred from the Presidency" because of religion, "or for that matter my two Episcopal grandsons."⁷

D. Jason Berggren (APIC #13033) is a doctoral student of Political Science at Florida International University and an adjunct professor of religion at Broward Community College.

Notes:

¹ William Martin, *A Prophet With Honor: The Billy Graham Story* (New York: William Morrow and Company, Inc., 1991), 271.

² Rev. Graham made this recommendation to Nixon in 1959.

³ Martin, 271.

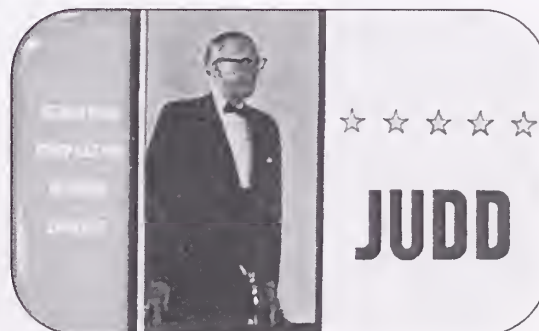
⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Edward J. Richter and Berton Dulce, *Religion and the Presidency: A Recurring American Problem* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1962), 157.

⁶ Theodore H. White, *The Making of the President: 1960* (New York: Atheneum House, Inc., 1961), 206.

⁷ Richter and Dulce, 192.

**NIXON
AND
JUDD
THAT'S THE
TICKET!**



**WALTER
JUDD
FOR
VEEP**

In 1960, Congressman Walter Judd of Minnesota was a serious contender for Vice President. In 1962, the Democratic state legislature gerrymandered him out of his congressional district. In 1964, Minnesota Republicans made a gesture of respect for Judd by making him their favorite son at the GOP national convention. The two large round buttons are from 1960 and the two buttons with stars are from 1964. There are even Judd-for-President fakes in the hobby.

COLLECTING HISTORY

“Who’s Yehudi?” and Other Radio Tales

by Robert Fratkan

**YEHUDI
IS FOR
WILLKIE
TOO!**

Those of you who know me would guess that I don’t collect Willkie slogan buttons. I don’t, but there is one exception—and a story, of course.

One of the burning questions of 1940 that probably interested more people than even the third term campaign was a running gag on the top-rated Bob Hope radio show. Jerry Colonna, trombonist and supporting cast member of the Hope show, popularized the phrase on the show, “Who’s Yehudi?” It all started when Colonna found out that concert violinist Yehudi Menuhin was booked on the program. Colonna, apparently not knowing who Menuhin was, asked other cast members who Yehudi was, and no one knew. This line of inquiry developed into a routine that got on the show, and went on for more than a year, with Colonna continually asking “Who’s Yehudi?” and being answered with responses such as that Yehudi was the invisible man who turned on the refrigerator light when you opened the door. Soon it was clear that Yehudi was an invisible man who appeared in illogical places—the classic little man who wasn’t there.

During the presidential campaign, it is estimated that more than a thousand different slogan buttons were made supporting Wendell Willkie. Very few were made by the campaign organization. Most were manufactured overnight by button manufacturers and sold in subways and on street corners in New York and other large cities. Willkie supporters wanted new clever buttons to wear every work day, and the sellers were eager to oblige. Frequently, the messages related to a news event, speech or something heard on the radio. So it was natural that someone would eventually make a button bringing Yehudi into the political fray, “Yehudi Is For Willkie Too!”

Yehudi’s popularity survived his support for Willkie, although Wendell’s loss suggests that there were a lot of invisible voters who didn’t mark a ballot for the GOP candidate. Yehudi was even mentioned in three 1941 movies and a military project in 1942, Operation Yehudi, which involved developing camouflage for Navy ships. In late 1941, the Hope show ran a contest to determine who Yehudi really was. The winning entry: Yehudi is the little man who pushes up the next tissue in the Kleenex box. And you thought it was just interfolded tissues!

While on the subject of radio, few recall the beginning of commercial radio started with a political event. In 1918, a young engineer named Frank Conrad, who worked for Westinghouse Electric and Manufacturing in Pittsburgh, started experimenting with sending “wireless” voice messages from a small room above his garage in a Pittsburgh suburb.

Prior to then, people who built homemade crystal receiving sets listened to Morse Code dits and dahs. Many of these early wireless receivers were built by Boy Scouts, whose hand-

book at the time contained “how to” instructions for building a crystal set using photographic plates. But Frank Conrad wanted to do more, and he began voice transmissions in 1918, much to the surprise of receiver owners in his reception area.

At first, he spent all of his air time talking, but one day, when his voice was tired and raspy, he put his microphone up to a Victrola and broadcast the first known music selection. Almost immediately, his listeners were calling and writing him with musical requests, and he regularized his “program” times. In 1919, Conrad was running out of records and went to the Hamilton Music Co. to borrow more records. Hamilton agreed, so long as he mentioned their name—the first radio advertisement.

In 1920, when Conrad’s broadcasts were becoming popular around Pittsburgh, a department store advertised in the local newspaper that they had crystal set kits available for sale so that the purchasers could listen to Conrad’s musical programs. His boss at Westinghouse saw the ad and asked Conrad if he could build a broadcast transmission facility for the company. Within two weeks, Conrad built a wooden shack atop one of their factories, and on Election Day 1920, newly licensed KDKA went on the air.

The first evening’s broadcast was devoted to reports on the unfolding results of the Harding/Cox presidential contest. As one Pittsburgh newspaper pointed out the next morning, this was the first time citizens in their homes knew the election results before the morning papers were printed. Two weeks later, Westinghouse began selling the first production radios.

As those of you from Western Pennsylvania know, KDKA still has its original call letters, the only radio station east of the Mississippi River whose call sign starts with a K. I assume there are some early 1920s celluloid ad items mentioning KDKA, but I have never found one.

The desire to sell radios and the evolution of broadcasting continued to interact in the 1920s. The Radio Corporation of America (RCA) was created in 1919 by four major American corporations, General Electric (GE), American Telephone and Telegraph (AT&T), Westinghouse and the United Fruit Company. In 1926, GE, Westinghouse and RCA founded the first radio network, the National Broadcasting Corporation. NBC used telephone lines to connect major Eastern and Midwestern markets’ radio stations to simultaneously broadcast programs across an NBC network. Western stations were left out due to the time difference.

The objective was clear, to sell more RCA radios, a business that was growing rapidly in popularity. It was expected that the higher quality programming that could be presented by pooling resources would encourage even more radio purchases, an assumption that proved correct, and RCA soon

became the largest seller of radio sets. Later, NBC created a Pacific network. Many Pacific broadcasts were Eastern NBC programs, announced as "recorded earlier for presentation at this time."

Eventually, the Eastern and Pacific networks became national, and became known as the Red and Blue Networks of NBC. Since both networks operated out of the same studios, the announcers, who were used by both networks, had moments of confusion. One announcer arrived in the studio just as his slot went on the air, and in a moment of bafflement, said, "This is either the Red or Blue Network of the National Broadcasting System." Government anti-monopoly pressure on RCA led to the sale of the Blue Network in 1943, and it was

renamed the American Broadcasting Company in 1945.

An added historical note: David Sarnoff, the General Manager, then President and finally long time Chairman of RCA, first gained notoriety as a young telegrapher for the Marconi Wireless Telegraph Co, a wireless ship to shore Morse Code service. Sarnoff was the first wireless operator to hear and report the SOS message from the Titanic in 1912: "SS Titanic ran into iceberg, sinking fast." It is said that Sarnoff stayed at his post for 72 hours, reporting on the sinking and rescue efforts, as relayed by other ships in the area.

Some years ago, I bought a Red Network button from Geary Vlk, and later I found a button advertising the Blue Network.★



The Blue Network would become ABC.



Presidential Radio Firsts

Not only was Warren Harding's victory over James Cox in 1920 the first election reported over the radio, President Harding was noted for several radio "firsts." He was the first president to own a radio and the first to speak over the radio airwaves. In 1921, from his desk in the White House, President Harding pressed a button starting the generators at Rocky Point, the world's most powerful wireless transmitting station. In 1922, Harding had the first radio installed in the White House. At the time, radio was the hottest technology there was, and the White House was on the cutting edge.

President Calvin Coolidge was the first president to broadcast from the White House when his address for Washington's Birthday was heard on 42 stations from coast to coast. Before that historic broadcast, radio had played a big role in Coolidge's victory in the 1924 presidential election. The night before the election, Coolidge made history when the largest radio audience ever tuned in to the broadcast of his final campaign speech. Coolidge won the election easily, and in March, Americans listened for the first time to their president take the oath of office on the radio.★



Herbert Hoover listens to the radio on an early crystal set.

Keeping Time With FDR: The Metal Roosevelt Clocks and Lamps.

Part I: Man of the Hour

by Tom Tedford

On March 4, 1933, in the dark days of the Great Depression, Franklin Delano Roosevelt was inaugurated as the thirty-second President of the United States. The new president's reassuring smile, his "take charge" attitude, and his New Deal legislative program to strengthen the economy gave confidence to a nation in crisis. In keeping with the wave of optimism that swept the country following FDR's inauguration, manufacturers and merchants offered a wide variety of pro-Roosevelt items that citizens could display in their homes, including such things as pictures, calendars, thermometers, plaques, busts, glassware, clocks, and lamps.

At least two clock companies made metal clocks and lamps that featured a figure of FDR or symbols related to the New Deal or the National Recovery Administration (NRA). These were the United Electric Clock Corporation of Brooklyn, N.Y., and the Gibraltar Electric Clock Company of Jersey City, N.J. The present article focuses on United's "Man of the Hour" series that featured a figure of FDR standing at a ship's wheel "guiding the Ship of State" through the Great Depression. A subsequent article will discuss the clocks and lamps manufactured by the Gibraltar Company. The author has been collecting political clocks and lamps for about twenty-five years, and all illustrations are from his collection.

The clocks and lamps made by United Electric Clock are not as easy to identify as are those made by Gibraltar, for Gibraltar molded its name clearly on the back of its products, whereas United did not. However, the Man of the Hour series can be traced to United by two bits of evidence, namely, the clock face which has "United Electric Clock Corp." printed on it, and the presence of the patent num-



Figure 2. The miniature Man of the Hour is only six inches in height.

ber (Pat. 91-140) on the lower back of the case (evidently United put this patent number on all of its Man of the Hour clocks and lamps). From time to time, collectors will find a Man of the Hour clock with a non-United clock works installed. In such cases, one can assume that "along the way" somebody removed the original United clock (probably because it was burned out or otherwise damaged) and replaced it with the product of a different manufacturer. It is reasonable to conclude, however, that the clock was made by United if it has "Pat. 91-140" on the back.

FDR Clocks in Three Sizes

Excluding the Man of the Hour clock-lamp combination (discussed below), the United FDR clocks were made in three sizes: miniature, standard, and tall (Fig. 1). The *miniature clock*, which is extremely rare, is only six inches in height (Fig. 2). It has a sailboat medallion (sailing being one of FDR's interests) beneath the clock face, and the word "Roosevelt" appears on a separate line above "The Man of the Hour." The company name does not appear on the face of the clock, but "Pat. 91-140" is on the back.

The *standard clock* is fourteen inches in height and is the one most often offered for sale at APIC shows and in antique malls (Fig. 3). The case was made in two versions, one with a sailboat medallion and the other with a presi-

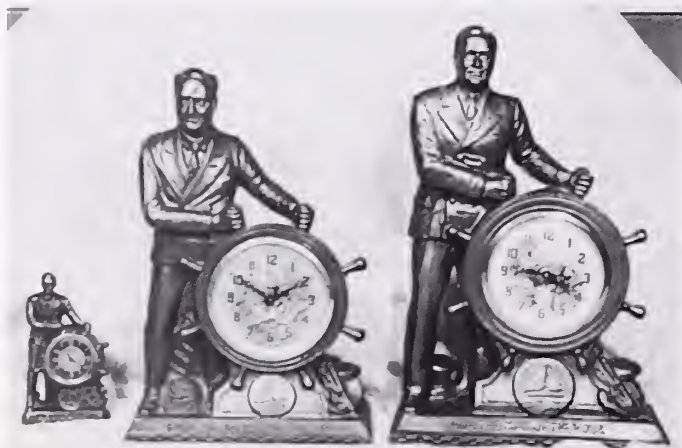


Figure 1. United made its Man of the Hour clocks three sizes: miniature, standard, and tall.

dential seal medallion beneath the face of the clock (Fig. 4). Also, the area between the legs of the Roosevelt figure is solid metal.

The *tall clock* is sixteen inches in height and, like the standard clock, was made with the medallion variations of sailboat and presidential seal (Fig. 5). In addition to its height, it differs from the other two in that the space between the legs of the FDR statue is open. Although it is not “rare,” the tall clock is not as common as is the fourteen inch version.

The Clock Mechanisms and Faces

United offered its Roosevelt clocks with two types of mechanisms: electric and spring-wound mechanical with animated faces. The electric mechanism, which has a sweep second hand, is not self starting. When the clock is plugged in, a small “starter” wheel in the back must be twirled to start the motor (the clock will run either forward or backward, depending upon the direction of the

twirl). Because the motor is not self starting, many of these clocks burned out when the power went off and came back on without anyone around to restart the clock. Evidently some owners of burned out clocks discarded the scorched “remains” following a power failure, which helps explain why collectors often find Man of the Hour clock cases that have an empty space where the clock is supposed to be.

The mechanical clocks made by United are far more interesting than the electrics because of their colorful animated faces. These are found in Man of the Hour clocks (and in many other metal clocks of the 1930s as well) in four different designs, as follows:

- (1) Pilot at the ship's wheel guiding the vessel through a storm (Fig. 6). The pilot's arm moves up and down and the ship's wheel moves back and forth.
- (2) Three-man fife and drum unit of the Revolutionary Period (Fig. 7). The arm of one of the drummers moves as he “plays the drum.”

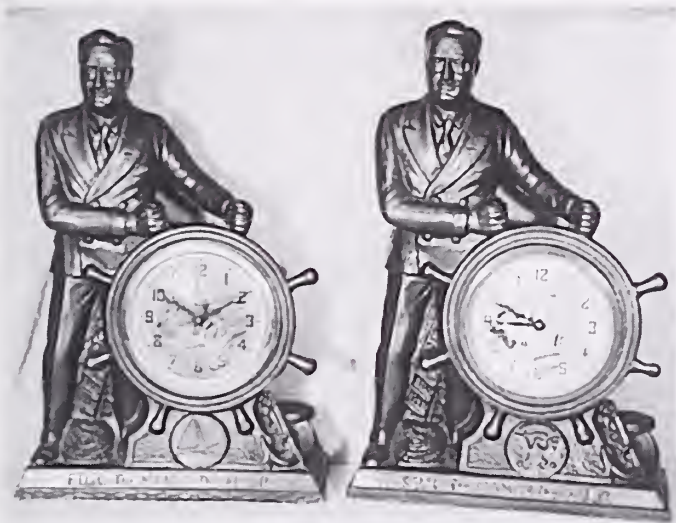


Figure 3. The standard version of the Man of the Hour is fourteen inches in height. Note the different medallions beneath the face of the clock.

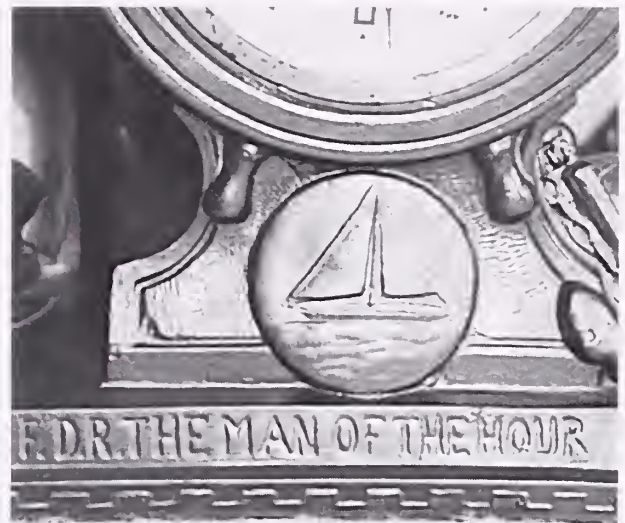


Figure 4. The clock and lamp cases come in two versions, one with a sailboat medallion (above) and the other with the presidential seal (below).

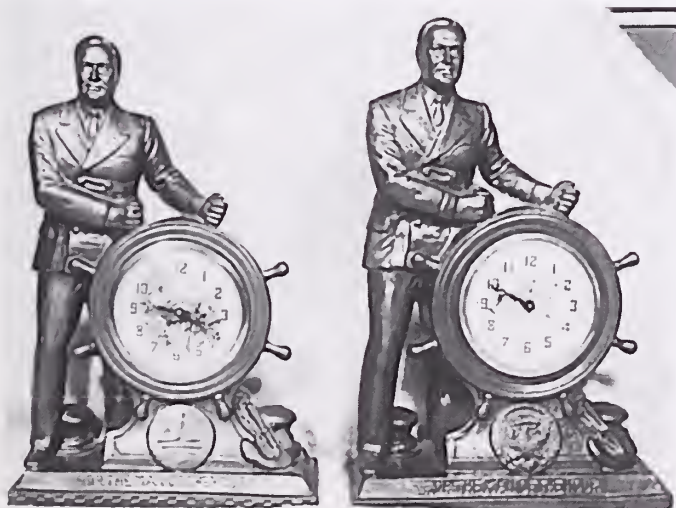


Figure 5. The “tall clock” is sixteen inches in height.



- (3) There are two anti-prohibition "repeal" mechanicals in the Man of the Hour series. The more common of the two features a bald-headed bartender mixing a drink (the bartender's arm moves up and down as he does the mixing) while several customers sit at tables in the background (Fig. 8).
- (4) The second repeal scene depicts a bartender with hair mixing a drink, while in the background some people are sitting at tables while others are dancing (Fig. 9). The "bartender with hair" mechanical is fairly hard to find.

The Man of the Hour Lamps

United also issued a set of three Man of the Hour lamps that follow the same Roosevelt-as-pilot theme discussed above. In this set, FDR appears dressed as a ship's pilot complete with a "rain hat" (Fig. 10). One unit of the set includes an electric clock in the center of the ship's

wheel, whereas the two that are "lamps only" have solid metal centers molded to look like the spokes of the wheel. Following the pattern set in the clocks, there are two versions of the lamp case, one with the sailboat medallion and the other with the presidential seal.

There are probably other Man of the Hour clocks and lamps to be found, perhaps some made by companies other than United. As the collector knows, finding the "unexpected" or "unlisted" item is one of the pleasures of the hunt. However, the information presented here should serve as a good starting point for collecting these interesting 3-D items. The next article in the fall issue will examine the metal Roosevelt clocks and lamps produced by the Gibraltar Electric Clock Company, as well as some clocks whose manufacturer is unknown.★

This article is the first of two parts. Part two will be in the next issue of *The Keynoter*.

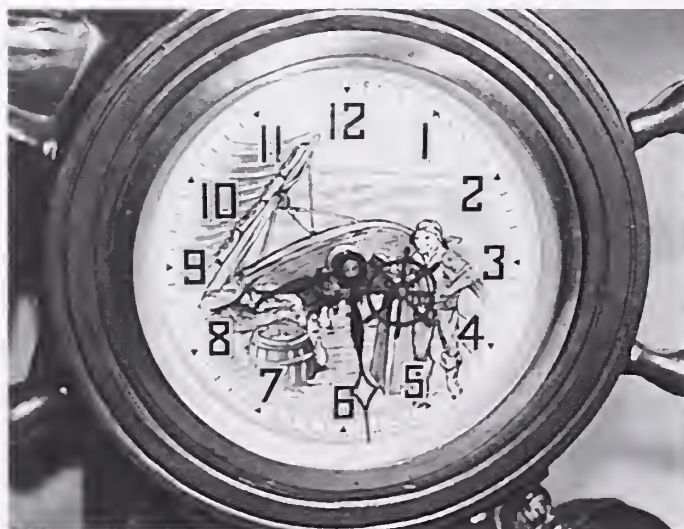


Figure 6. The animated ship's pilot.



Figure 7. The animated fife and drum group.

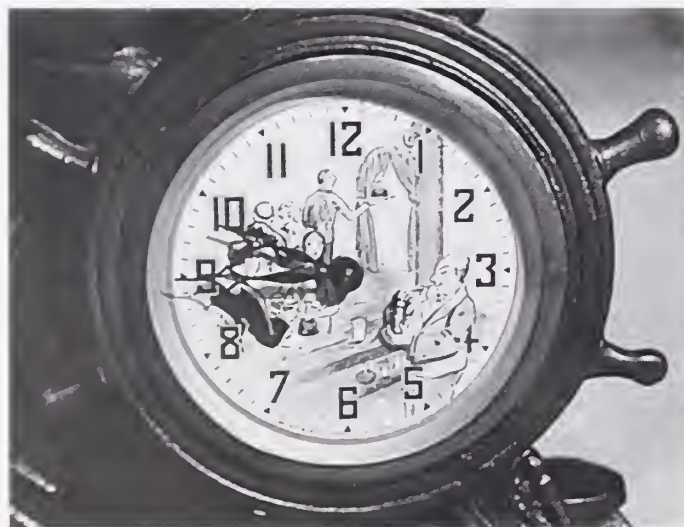


Figure 8. The animated bald-headed bartender scene.

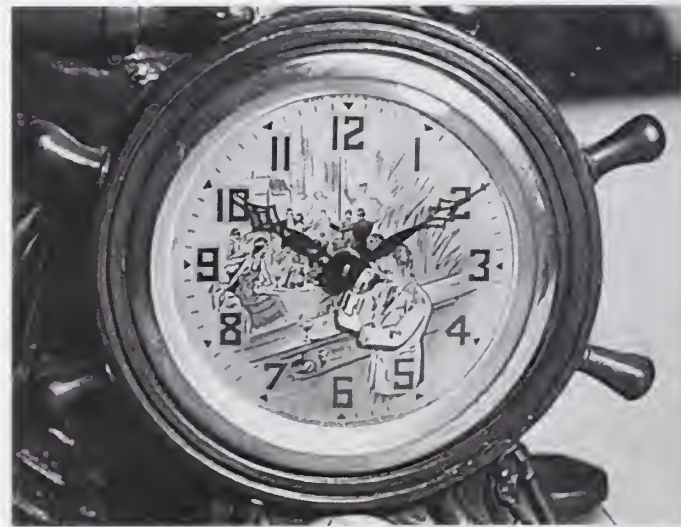


Figure 9. This animated bar scene shows the bartender with hair.



Nevada Roosevelt-Garner Club Button Appears

by John C. Hughes

After reading Harvey Goldberg's article about the Roosevelt-Garner Club buttons in the Fall 1997 Keynoter, I found that my collection included a round brass Roosevelt-Garner Club pin for Nevada. Readers who have followed this evolving story in *The Keynoter* over recent years, will know that Roosevelt-Garner Club buttons have been found now in every state except Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina and Tennessee. These are all states from the "Solid South," states so dependably Democratic in the Thirties that the party barely mounted a campaign for the November election. All the real contests were decided in the states' Democratic primaries, so November drew relatively little attention on the local level. Everyone knew that the electoral votes from their state would be in the Democratic column, so perhaps no Roosevelt-Garner Club buttons were issued for those states.

But Nevada completes the collection outside the Solid South.

The discovery of this rarity gives me an opportunity to share a story about a man who restored my faith in the APIC after some bumpy episodes had caused me to drop out in the 1970s. John Gearhart of Portland, Oregon

personifies the integrity, expertise and enthusiasm that APIC should stand for. Always willing to share his formidable knowledge – especially when it comes to detecting bogus items – he is also incredibly fair and square when it comes to selling and swapping. His word is good as gold.

The Roosevelt-Garner Club Nevada pin was in a batch of FDR stuff John was offering to sell me. In fact, as is typical of John, he had sent me the material on approval. When I saw the *Keynoter* article, I felt that The Golden Rule obliged me to alert him that he had a rarity that was without a doubt worth more than he was proposing to charge me.

His instantaneous reply: "Keep it. That will be a neat addition to your collection." People like John Gearhart, Harvey Goldberg and Stephen Cresswell, to name three trusted new friends I have made since rejoining APIC, make this hobby so enjoyable.★

[EDITOR'S NOTE: In an interesting coincidence, both John C. Hughes (APIC #11596) and Darrell Moore (APIC #11596) wrote in after the last story with examples of the Nevada button. The Keynoter expresses its appreciation to both members for sharing their finds.]



Figure 10. the three versions of the Man of the Hour lamp with the clock-lamp combination in the center. The two white globes shown are replacements; the globe in the center is original.

Campaign Classics: PT-109


by Harvey Goldberg

The main purpose of a campaign item is to create "instant recognition" for the candidate. Picture and name pins are the most obvious. Slogans or issue-related items are effective, although limited by time and relevance. But every so often an item or symbol is distributed which becomes immediately identifiable with that individual - a recognition that continues well beyond the campaign itself. Examples over the years would include Franklin Roosevelt's "F.D.R.", the Landon Sunflower, Barry Goldwater's A_1H_2O , and Jimmy Carter's Peanut. Among the most recognizable, was the PT-109 symbol for John F. Kennedy.



Lt. (jg) John F. Kennedy at aboard PT-109


No. 3



A time for GREATNESS

John F. Kennedy "I shall appreciate any support that you can give to the committee working in my behalf."

I wish to contribute \$..... (cash, check or money order) to U. S. Senator John F. Kennedy's Presidential campaign fund.



I would appreciate receiving a complimentary replica pin of PT Boat 109.

Please send the free replica pin to:

Name

Address

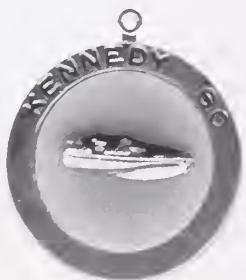
City State

Senator JOHN F. KENNEDY

for President

HEADQUARTERS: 261 CONSTITUTION AVE., N. W., WASHINGTON, D. C.

Campaign Donation/PT-109 pin
Order Form



PT-9

"Kennedy 60" pendant

Used on bracelet, necklace, etc.

Campaign Item



PT-9A

"Kennedy" pendant

Used on bracelet, necklace, etc.

White House Item

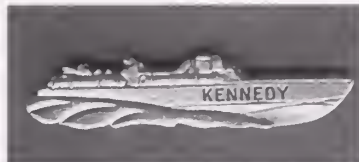
The story of Kennedy's World War II exploits is well documented. Many veterans launched political campaigns and careers based upon their military feats, especially in the years immediately following the Second World War. The Kennedy campaigns, however, seized upon these opportunities like few others. His 1946 Congressional campaign was flooded with reprints of a *Reader's Digest* article about the sinking of his patrol torpedo boat. His 1952 and 1958 Senate campaigns saw further exploitation of his heroism. The 1960 Presidential campaign elevated the PT boat to the level of a "Classic" item.

Early in the campaign, documentary film clips of Kennedy's World War II exploits were utilized to 'introduce' him to the public, making a comparison to outgoing President Eisenhower, whose fame from World War II led to his election. Campaign fundraising activities used the "PT-109" symbol on their receipt forms. PT-109 tie clasps appeared, as did PT-109 jewelry pins. They came in gold-tone finishes, silver finishes, copper, bronze, even 14kt. gold. The symbol also appeared as a tie tack, a pendant, and a bracelet. Ironically, the only related button was a 7/8" blue & gold celluloid "109" pinback given to surviving crew members & their families for President Kennedy's Inaugural parade.

But not *all* of the PT boats that we have seen are "Kennedy". Some are insignia from Patrol Torpedo Squadrons (or reproductions thereof) and have nothing to do with JFK at all. Those items that proclaim "Kennedy 60" were giveaways from the campaign. Items that say "Kennedy" [without the date] were giveaways from the JFK White House after the election - with one exception. A small 1-1/2" silver-tone tie tack which originally appeared during the Wisconsin primary campaign was too small to spell it all out; the item merely says "JK 60". One detailed, high relief type was given to staff members, a few of them even plated in 14kt. gold. The more detailed items, produced in both tie clasp and pin form, were 'unofficial' items, produced during the campaign but not by the Kennedy organization. ★



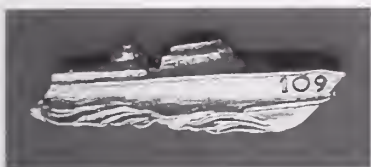
PT-1
"Kennedy '60" Campaign Item
 Gold-tone & silver
 Tie clasp & pinback
 1-3/4" Long



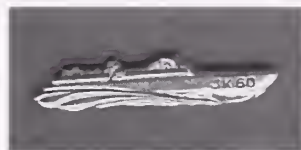
PT-2 (Library)
JFK Library Tie-Tac
 Produced & distributed by
 The JFK Library



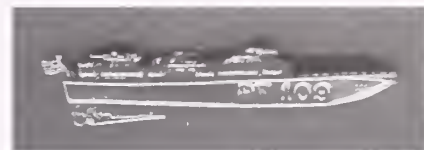
PT-3 (Library)
JFK Library Tie-Tac
 Produced & distributed by
 The JFK Library



PT-4
"109" Campaign Item
 Gold-tone & silver
 Tie clasp & pinback
 1-3/4" Long
 Outside Manufacturer



PT-5
"JK 60" Campaign Item
 Wisconsin Primary
 1-1/2" Silver Tie-Tack Only



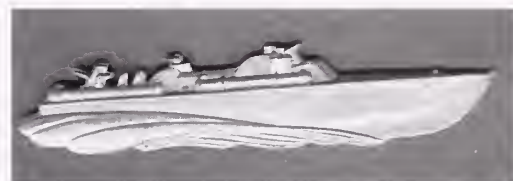
PT-6
"PT-109" Campaign Item
 Outside Manufacturer
 2-1/4" Gold-tone Tie Clasp Only



PT-7
"PT-109" Campaign Item
 High Relief & Detail Staff Pin
 1-7/8" Gold-tone Pinback Only



7/8" Pin:
 Blue/Gold
 Inaugural
 Celluloid



PT-8
"PT" Insignia Pin-Not JFK
 Gold-tone & Silver Finishes
 2-1/2" Pinback Only



PT-10 "PT" pinback
 1-3/4" gold-tone & silver finish
 Generic Insignia-NOT Kennedy.
 Pinback only.



PT-Library
"JFK Library" Tie-Tac
 Produced & distributed by
 The JFK Library



This crystal paperweight, featuring the PT109 symbol, was a gift for delegates to the 1960 Democratic National Convention that nominated John F. Kennedy for President.

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NOVEMBER

28 Cents

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Presidential
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**Hoover and Senate
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**Hoover and
Senate on a Radio Wave**

